OF THE GREAT CONSPIRACY.

HOW IT WAS MANAGED IN DUTCHESS COUNTY.

UNDERTAKEN TO PAVE THE WAY TO HILL'S NOMI-NATION FOR THE PRESIDENCY-THE DEMO-CRATS HAD THE PARTY MACHINERY TO STEAL WITH, SO THEY STOLE-WAS THERE A DEAL WITH FLOWER?-WHIRLING THE THING THROUGH THE BOARD OF CANVASSERS-HOW THE LAW WAS JUGGLED AND THE COURTS USED TO HELP ALONG THE RECKLESS CRIME.

(FROM A STAFF CORRESPONDENT OF THE TRIBUNE. Poughkeepsie, Feb. 13 .- When, on the night November 3, 189f, all the votes cast to fill the office of State Senator in the general election in New-York, held that day, had been counted by the election inspectors and declared in their sworn statement of returns, seventeen Republicans, fourteen Democrats and one Independent Republican had been elected. But when the Legislature met on January 5, 1892, the persons who appeared at Albany equipped with certificates from the State Loard of Canvassers entitling them to organize as a Senate were sixteen Democrats, fourteen Republicans and one Independent Republican. In other words, the certificates belonging to two Republicans were given by the State Board of Canvassers to fheir defeated opponents, and the certificate belonging to a third Republican was not awarded at all. In his seat, however, the Senate having organized, a Democrat was promptly injected by the partisan vote of that body. So that the Senate, as it stands to-day, is composed of seventeen Democrats, fourteen Republicans and one Independent. The proceedings by which this result was reached constitute a crime against the suffrage and an attack upon liberty and American institutions more audacious, more potent for harm and more defiant of law than any that have been recorded in the history of a Northern State.

In this correspondence I intend to tell as clearly, fully and connectedly as I can, and with absolute fidelity to the truth, precisely how this great crime was accomplished. Nothing will be asserted which has not been or cannot be substantially proved, nor will any inference be suggested which is not a logical and necessary conclusion of demonstrated facts.

FIRST HINTS OF FRAUD.

It was known in every newspaper office in the State by 3 o'clock in the morning after election that the IIId, XIIIth, XVth, XVIth, XVIIIth, XIXth, XXth, XXIst, XXIId, XXIIId, XXIVth, XXVth, XXVIth, XXVIIth, XXVIIIth, XXIXth and XXXth Senate Districts-seventeen in allhad been carried by the Republicans. The Assoclated Press is the agency through which the newspapers collect the official returns after an election. It gathers them, precinct by precinct, the very instant they are counted, and in its office the computations are made that show the results by towns, counties and districts. The Associated Press dispatches left no reasonable doubt on the night of November 3 that these seventeen districts, according to the official returns, had elected Republicans. And yet that very night messages flew over the wires into the offices of the Democratic papers declaring that Governor Hill and "Ed" Murphy, the chairman of the Democratic Campaign Committee, were claiming the Senate. What these claims were based on did not appear, but they were ously repeated the next day, and in the face of positive assurances from the Associated Press that its figures were official and correct. That night the claims of the Democrats began to grow a little more specific. It was hinted that Edward B. Osborne, the Democratic candidate, and not Gilbert A. Deane, had been elected in the XVth District; that Charles E. Walker, Democrat, and not Franklin D. Sherwood, Republican, had been elected in the XXVIIth District; that Michael Collins, Democrat, and not John H. Derby, Republican, had been elected in the XVIth District, and that John H. Nichols. Democrat, and not Rufus T. Peck, Republican, had been elected in the XXVth District. It is highly significant that these reports did not at first come from the districts themselves. In Poughkeepsie the very rascals who afterward stole Mr. Deane's seat by acts of reckless and barefaced robbery frankly acknowledged his election when the returns were filed. In Elmira no one ques tioned Mr. Sherwood's large plurality. In Syracure Mr. Peck was receiving the congratulations of his friends without the smallest bint that they were not his due, and in Troy Mr. Derby's title was nowhere disputed. All the rumors throwing doubt on these elections first came from the Executive Chamber at Albany and the Democratic

headquarters in the Hoffman House, New-York. HILL WHISTLES UP HIS MEN.

Telegrams of inquiry sent out into the districts mentioned from the New-York newspaper offices elicited no evidence in support of the rumors, but only repeated assurances that the count was completed and the Republican caudidates surely elected. The next day, however, the local Demoeratic managers in the districts began to sustain the claims that had been put forward by the State bosses. All that day political messengers were flying between Albany and Syracuse, Troy, Elmira, Poughkeepsie and New-York, and if the files of the Western Union offices in those cities could be produced they would show some remarkable summonses and directions. The Democratic politicians were everywhere advised to seoure "evidence," no matter how flimsy or absurd, that would serve the immediate purpose of challenging the inspectors' count, and of creating a popular impression that the result as to State Senators was in doubt. Governor Hill gave to the Associated Press a remarkable interview. wherein he boldly declared that "the Democrats had carried a majority of the Senate districts," that "they did not intend to be chrated out of their rights," and that "it was incumbent upon every Democrat who valued his party and its victories to watch the count as it was now proceeding throughout the State." Governor Hill, of course, was perfectly aware that the count had been completed within ten hours after the polls closed. The proceeding to which his remarks were intended to direct attention was the canvass of the precinct returns before the various county boards of supervisors organized as county boards of canvassers, and he was covertly suggesting to his party managers generally what he had been all day long commanding upon individuals, that they should get to work promptly to collect affidavits upon which to challenge the correctness of precinct returns before these County

Canvassers. though only one was really close, had received especial attention from the Democratic managers for half a dozen men in command of a political The four distric's affected by Democratic rumors, especial attention from the Democratic managers during the compaign. The XXth, composed of the counties of Dutchess. Columbia and Putnam, and containing the city of Pougakeepsie; and the and containing the city of Pougakeepsie; and the XVIth, composed of the countles of Reisselaer XVIth, composed of the countles of the count

Aew-York

A FULL AND CLEAR HISTORY much nerve and sagacity, who masquerades as a liberty it surely could not be radically wrong. known and recognized as a Hill man. He reap-Murphy, the notorious canal boss, Hiff's principal tributed not a little to make the Steal possible inherited from Aqueduct Contractor John O'Brien that a crime has been committed that strikes at when expo are and collapse forced that statesman the very roots of things and that, unpunished, it has been, carefully distributed in Hill's interest to resign his honors and to part with his peli. Hinckley and Murphy fully expected to capture piled them with resources much ampier than they had enjoyed in any recent campaign, and it cannot be denied that they made effective use of their opportunity. They were tremendously disgusted then they found themselves beaten, and neither needed any inspiration beyond Hill's command to undertake the theft of the district. Their plan did not develop immediately. They had to feel Meanwhile they busind themselves sending out impudent assertious that the first returns were false, that large mistakes had been made in the count, and that their respective men Osborne and Collins, had undoubtedly been elected These assertions served the purpose of notifying to their "heelers" that they must stir around after "evidence," and of preparing the public mind of such "revelations" as might be thereafter

HILL'S PRE-ELECTION HOPES.

The XXVth District, composed of the counties of Onondaga and Cortland, and containing the city of Syracuse, was ordinarily Republican by an enormous majority. But here, too, Hill had had hopes. The Republican candidate, Mr. Peck. was understood to be objectionable to a faction of his party, and it was believed that he would fail to secure their support. So, indeed, he did in a large measure. His vote tell off especially in the towns, and as the first returns received were of course, from these places, the Democrats early They sent enthusiastic messages to Governor Hill and to the Democratic headquarters in New-York City, and, although they themselves were quickly undeceived, the country return making it evident that Peck's majority was substantial, it is probable that they left the impression they had first created at Albany and New-York undisturbed until the next day. But Hill was not the man to relinquish the idea that he had won, or to excuse his sub-bosses for a failure to deliver a district on the poor ground that their arithmetic was faulty. He met the first suggestion of defea with peremptory instructions to the Syracus chase around after proofs to sustain their claims. On the morning after election day everybody freely admitted Peck's victory, but that evening after the Albany boss had been consulted, the Democrats were noisily protesting that there was a mistake somewhere whith would appear as soon as they could place it.

posed of the counties of Chemung, Steuben and Allegany, and contains the city of Elmira. It and been represented in the Schate for several ferms by Mr. Fassett. It is not probable that Hill at any time expected to carry this district but from the moment the Republican candidate was named he had a well-grounded expectation of displacing him if the Senate should prove to be Democratic. Mr. Sherwood was a citizen of Hornellsville, where he held the office of Park Commissioner. That fact should have operated to prevent his nomination, for the State Con siftution provides in Section 8 of Article 3 that "no person shall be eligible to the Legislature who at the time of his election is, or within 100 who at the time of his been. . . an officer under any city government." The Democrats were quick to point out the disability under which this provision placed Mr. Sherwood, tortifying their judgment with an elaborate opinion from Attorney General Tabor, to whose views they imputed a decisive quality growing out of his official place But the Republicans replied with an opinion from Judge Danforth, an ex-member of the Court of Appeals, holding that Mr. Sherwood's case die not come within the constitutional prohibition, and they rightfully insisted that Mr. Tabor's other lawyer of moderate ability, and not to be compared in value with those of a jurist so learner and respectable as Judge Danforth. Tabor's position, they properly said, had nothing to do will the matter, since the Senate, and the Senate alone was the judge of the qualifications of its members and it would pass on the question of Mr. Sherwood's eligibility if any such question existed. No one knew better than Governor Hill that this was a correct statement of the law, and his pre-election hopes in the case of Mr. Sherwood were confined to that gentleman's displacement in the event of the election of a Democratic Senate. The scheme of knocking him out by the simple process of having he State Board of Canvassers kick the statute books into the street, regardiate the Court of Appeals, and decline to give Mr. Sherwood his cortificate on the plainly declared ground that they lidn't have to, was an afterthought, adopted whe the prostitution of that Board was found to be necessary in the other cases. Of course, if it could be got to commit a crime in three cases, there would be no especial reason why it should hesi-

tate at a fourth. A CHARACTERISTIC ANECDOTE.

These were the districts wherein, after the election of the Republican candidates had been con ceded, but very quickly thereafter and suddenly and following immediately upon conferences be tween Hill, Murphy, Hinckley and the Deputy Attorney-General, Maynard, at Albany, and prompted by telegraphic messages that fairly poured out of the Executive Chamber, the local Demoocratic managers began to show suspicious activity and to make impossible claims. It is fair to presume that they did not understand the conspiracy they were being drawn into, and perhaps here were some among them who, had they ap preciated its addacity and enormity, would have aused a long while before inviting its risks As much may possibly be said of some of the principals. Several stories are teld at the Fort Orange Club about the state of mind in which these lesser conspirators were thrown when they first heard the Governor's plan fully developed. One which is, at all events, characteristic, represents Hill as having gone over the facts in each case, showin he materials he had collected to justify his scheme. There was a general murmur that they were too few in number and too feeble in strength The Governor's fice darkened, "Perhaps you don't fully comprehend," he said, with a palpa-"I am not talking of evidence for use in a court, but before Democratic boards of canlined the whole conspiracy. The group around him was not composed of Miss Nancys, but it fell

on them all with a chill. Finally, "Ed" Murphy spoke up. "Well, Govhe said, "we'll put it through if you say But there's a big question in my mind just where it will land us!"

11

" Pooh!" said Hill.

HILL'S HAND AT THE HELM.

After 120 years of free government during which time the spirit of justice and fair play, devotion to the principle of majority rule and respect for the law have so grown and developed in the public mind as to dominate its forces and direct its operations, there were not many people in

SHAMEFUL SENATE STEAL, they had confidently expected to carry. In each was a dispute about who was elected and a big obedient servant. His military staff was made up hind the returns. The very latest of these decisions it was found that the Democratic candidate for lieutenant in New-York, and the chairman of his and operates now to shield the thieves. It is high State Committee, an official distinction naturally | time the people woke up, high time they realized opens the door to all kinds of electoral devilory When it is found that a Board of Canvassers can their districts. The Flower campa ga fund sup- with impunity certify to another result than that declared by the ballots, elections are a mere waste of time. When the people discover that there is a man among them powerful enough to do what David B. Hill did on the day the Court of Appeals other conspirators which two could be defied with he most safety, select the two, order the public flicials on whom those decisions bore to disreand them, and secure a tame obedience to his ommands, that man and his party have got to be turned down or the State of New-York is not FACTS THAT REVEAL THE KNAVE OF SPADES. I have already shown that the conspiracy to steal the Senate was hatched in the Executive

hamber at Albany. Hill conceived it and di-

rected it in every detail. The proof of this is nultitudinous and circumstantial. It was from Hill in a public interview that the false claims first proceeded, after all the inspectors' returns vere filed in the county clerks' offices and their esult in the choice of the Republican candidates known beyond the shadow of a doubt. Hill sent out telegram after telegram to his agents and namagers in the four districts, directing them to ake no concessions, but to get evidence of fraud. When it is understood that these fellows were n almost all cases persons of criminal, or at the best "shady" reputations, the nature of the "evidence" they sought after does not require descrip-It was hill who detailed Maynard, the Deputy Attorney-General, to dash here and there ever the State, prompting the local managers as o what they should do, and how they should do t, showing them how they could evade the law while pretending to observe it, and assuring them that the Governor would stand by them, and that and to represent the people, not a party nor a party boss. It was Hill who, at every critical ment during the progress of the crime, in pubie interviews, in State papers and in official acts made his purpose clear to protect and reward his robbers, if only they robbed with skill and daring, and to pubish and undo any one who dared resist of political high-vaymen he religiously keptremoved two county clerks who refused to prostiguardly epithets in a State paper one of the most honorable members of the State judiciary, who in is jurisdiction had construed the law precisely theirs. He had the impudence to send a Demo-eratio judge from New York to Syracuse for the apress purpose of upsetting the decisions of a Republican judge, decisions which every member of the court without party distinction has consistently maintained. He ordered an extraordinary special term of the court in Albany, when one ecial term was already convened and without the lightest public occasion for another, and appointed a judge to hold it who had already distinguished sinself by granting orders that were of great service to the conspirators. He even went personally into the business of procuring judicial orders staying or vacating the orders of the judges before whom the causes were tried, making the Supreme Court of the State, as its members scrambled over one another in indecent haste to do what this judge had refused, or to unde what that judge had granted, a spectacle for the When a Democratic Supervisor at the bidding of the robbers disabeyed the court's orders and was punished for contempt, Hill set him free, denounce ing the upright judge and applauding the rascally the State rendered its solemn judgment in the whole controversy, plainly defining the precise duty of the State Board of Canvassers in respect of each par ticular case, it was Hill who commanded the be to defy the court, and who outlined how they should conduct their infamous proceeding. Every rascal involved, from the smallest to the greatest, from little Mylod to Frank Rice, from "Jim" Hinckley to Isaac H. Maynard-every man of them knew and had visible reasons to know that be and them and their criminal acts was the gigantic power of a State Government and a party organization in the hands of one unscrupulous man who stood ready to honor any draft that might be made upon it. People ask how these fellows had the nerve to do what they did. That's how they

III. HILL'S STAKE IN FLOWER'S PATRONAGE.

Much depended, from Hill's point of view, on securing a Democratic Senate. Throughout his term as Governor, the Republican majority in the Senate had been a thorn in his flesh and a stum bling-block in his way. By refusing to confirm his nominations it had steadily resisted his efforts to fill the public service with his personal tools. It had kept his hands off of an enormous amount of patronage, and had stood in the way of the reation of much more. Scores of his jobs had been defeated. His league with the liquor dealers o prevent a proper license system and with Tammany Hall to prevent an honest and efficient sallot law had been exposed and In the end largely circumvented. It is true that there had been at times illicit relations between him and one or two Republican Senators, and that, with their id, he had occasionally succeeded in doing a good deal of harm. But these cases were exceptional, and in the main the Republican Senate, under the brilliant leadership of Mr Fassett, had held Hill down and thwarted the schemes by which he oped to put money, at the public expense, in the pockets of his followers and thereby to earn olitical profit himself.

A great deal of droll literature has been written bout Hill's position in the campaign of last fall. It was asserted that Mr. Croker and Mr. Murphy revolted from Hill, and that Flower's nomination was Hill's destruction. Many people, not over ereculous, were persuaded to believe that this report, and undoubtedly it was a part of Hill's game to create appearances that sustained it. now known to have been without the slightes: foundation. In the campaign it served two ends. It brought over Mr. Cleveland's friends to the upport of the ticket, and male them, if not a arty to the destruction of the County Democracy New York City, at all events, silent and quiescent That was what Tammany wanted It enabled Hill to consummate his bargain with Mr. Flower without immediately arousing sussicion, and The nature of this that was what he wanted. bargain is now frankly disclosed. Democrats do not hesitate to assert that Flower committed himself in those ways which are satisfactory to political tradesmen in return for the Governorhip, to place at Hill's disposal, for the support of his Presidential aspirations all the patronage of the Governor's office during the first year of the partisan desires instead of to the returns as east present term. Of course, the procurement of anything like legal evidence of such a bargain as

of these districts the Democratic chief was a man after Hill's own heart. Poughkeepsie was the bome of "Jim" Hinckley, a political knave of stantially right, because in this land of law and bers of Hill's old staff, and every new man was purply not been supply to the courts and a final result in favor of the odd that it must be substantially right, because in this land of law and bers of Hill's old staff, and every new man was purply not be supply to the courts and a final result in favor of the odd that it must be substantially right, because in this land of law and bers of Hill's old staff, and every new man was a final result in favor of the odd that it must be substantially right, because in this land of law and bers of Hill's old staff, and every new man was pointed as Superintendent of Public Works, except Mr. Hannan, who is Hill's man, body, boots and breeches. The public patronage of this Depart Earl as his successor, a man who has been Hill In Earl's place on the bench of the court he ap-pointed Isaac H. Maynard, who had been Hill's personal agent in this infamous Senate Steal, who had directed every process of the outrage, and had managed the legal proce drugs by which the County Boards of Canvassers and the State Board finally were enabled with impunity to kick over the law and dely the courts.

As Railroad Commissioner, with a salary o \$8,000, he appointed Samuel L. Beardsley, of Utica, a Hill member of the Democratic State Committee, and he gave his great influence to secure the election by the Legislature to the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction to James F. Crooker, of Buffalo, through whom the control of the schools, and the annual distribution of nearly \$3,000,000 of school money will be turned to Hill's advantage. The one and only persona appointment that Flower has yet made is that of Wilbur F. Porter, of Watertown, to the bench of the Court of Claims, and even in that he served Hill's interest by deposing Judge Allen, a friend of Mr. Cleveland. All this patronage, immense in amount and far-reaching in its influence, is to-day being worked with the utmost assiduity to contro the Democratic Convention about to assemble for Hill. Even if there was no absolute bargain be tween Hill and Flower, the result is just what it would have been if such a bargain had been written and recorded. At every step in the carrying out of the arrangement the active co-operation of the Senate was necessary. More that This then, does not need to be said to show how large was Hill's motive in the crime he instigated.

IV. THE LAW OF ELECTIONS.

The necessity of stealing the Senate in order to get it did not appear to the Democrati which they could tamper with the returns them selves. The inspectors of election had performed their whole duty and were discharged of their responsibility, and the returns were filed and a final record with regard to them had been made before Hill's desperate scheme developed. It was plain that he could not make the figures other than they were. The only thing he could do was to secure a fraudulent certification of their effect. The functions of each individual part of he statute with rigid exactitude. No chance is invwhere left for mistake or misconception, and, if there were, the courts have long since disposed of it by a line of decisions holding that the law The election inspectors-that is, the persons who have charge of the polling-booths and boxes in every precinct-under whose supervision the balloting goes on, are required immediately wass of the votes, and they are forbidden to adourn until their work is fully completed. They are required to proclaim the result as to each candidate immediately upon its ascertainment. and, when the canvass has been fully completed o make a statement of its results upon a prepared form which must be immediately and within canvass filed in the office of the town clerk. Verified copies of this statement must be delivered to the supervisors of the town or ward, and to the county clerk, and this business must be transacted and the inspectors must indefinitely adourn within twenty-four hours after the canvass has been completed.

One week after election day the supervisors of the county, each of whom has in his possession he inspectors' returns from all the polling preganize as a Board of County Canvassers. Their duty is ministerial and arithmetical. The county clerk meets with them as their secretary. The returns from each precinct are examined and the precinct totals as to each candidate are added ogether and the results as to majorities or pluralities discovered. The board has power to issue s certificate of election for each county office, and s required to make out, according to a given form, a statement of the total vote received in the county for each candidate for a State office. to file the original of that statement in the office of the county clerk, and it is the duty of that officer to send by mail three copies of it to the State capital, one addressed to the Governor, one o the Secretary of State and the third to the State Controller. Each of these officers, then, has a complete declaration of the result in every county as to candidates for State offices, and they are required to file the declarations they have received in the office of the Secretary of State, the purpose of the law in calling for three such statements being to see to it, beyond all chance of miscarriage, that a true return shall be in the

ossession of the State Department. The Secretary of Stale, the Controller, the State Engineer and Surveyor, the Attorney-General and the State Treasurer are constituted a Board of State Canvassers, and are required to perform the same arithmetical and ministerial duties in connection with the statements sent up from the counties that the county canvassers were charged with in connection with the returns from precinets and towns. The Secretary of State lays before the board all the statements received by him from the county boards, and the total vote for each canlidate for a State office is computed, the pluralities and majorities are ascertained, the result in each case is declared and a certificate of election is issued in conformity therewith.

JUDICIAL DECISIONS OF UNMISTAKABLE IMPORT. It is apparent from this analysis of the law that neither the county canvassers nor the State canvassers have any judicial duty. The law nowhere authorizes them to do anything except add and subtract, and declare the result of that mathematical performance.

They have nothing to do with questions of fraud on the part of either voters or election inspectors. They must take the returns as they receive them and without question. They cannot inquire into any allegation which in any way challenges the orrectness of the returns. All such functions are lodged in the courts. Any candidate, and, indeed, ny voter, who thinks himself wronged by any kind of misconduct, whether on the part of voters or inspectors, has a sure, quick and easy remedy in the courts. It is obvious, from the face of the statutes, that this is the law, and the reason of he law is equally obvious. It is necessary to have ance of a work which is necessarily one of simple nathematics should there be a pause on the part of the mathematicians to inquire into the character and value of the votes they are counting. If canin, to make their figures correspond with their own sult the letter files of the Internal Revenue De and counted on the night of the election, it is plain that no candidate and no party is secure from

was rendered last June, since the adoption of the mended ballot law, and it affirms that the canmajority in the county of 92 votes. vassers are "simply to determine from the documentary evidence before them, furnished by the action of the inspectors, and upon which alone they can act, the number of votes given for each canrequired in a ministerial capacity to estimate and certify the vote." In the case of Deuchler, Judge Macomber held that to permit the "overhauling" of returns by canvassers "would be an invitation party zeal to make returns and not to count hem." "It is not the province of the board of canrassers," he said, "to adjudge an election. It discharges its whole power when, as an accurate accountant, it returns the results of the apparently canvassers," he said, "are fixed by statute, and to alter or judge the returns, or to contradict them, is not permissible." In the case of Morgan vs. Quaekenbush, speaking of a city board of earwassers, the Supreme Court said: "They are not at liberty to receive evidence of anything outside of the returns themselves. Their duty consists of a simple matter of arithmesic. They are to bring together the returns made by the inspectors of the several election districts and ascertain by computation the aggregate number of votes given in the whole city for each person for each office, and then declare the result by their certificate. If, in the lirst canvass, the Coumon Council received afficity for each person for each office, and then declare the result by their certificate. If, in the
first canvass, the Coumon Council received affidavits tending to show fraudulent practices at the
polls, and, acting upon such evidence, omitted to
canvass the votes of two election districts, they
acted illegally. They assumed to exercise a
judicial power which the Legislature has never
vested in them or any other board of canvassers.
This principle is further enforced by the Court of
Appeals decision in the Cook case, where it was
said, "The county canvassers, with a regular return from the district inspectors before them,
which is fair on its face, have no right to go
benind it, and prove that its estimates are unreliable by reason of rowdyism at the polls, or
irregularities of the inspectors. They must act
upon it as a regular return, and leave the parties
aggrieved to their remedy through the courts of
justice."

ave quoted from these decisions thus freely be-ture it was through the partisan action of Demo-atic boards of supervisors, organized as boards county canwassers, and finally by the action the Democratic State officers, organized as of county canvassers, and finally by the action of the Democratic State officers, organized as State canvassers, that Governor Hill was enabled to consummate the Senate steal. In every such case, as the Court of Appeals finally held, these bodies acted in wilful defiance of the law, but nowhere was their action so monstrous, so reckless, so barren of anything suggestive of an excuse, as in the County of Dutchess.

V.

SOME OF THE CHIEF CONSPIRATORS.

Since Cleveland's defeat in 1888 the Demoratic party in Dutchess County has fallen under the dominion of a certain James W. Hinckley. Formerly, in all matters of party maragement, the paramount voice was that of James L. Williams, distinguished attorney who has always enjoyed the confidence and respect of the people. But when Hill came into full power such men as Williams were not the kind he needed. He had no use for lieutenants who asked questions or paused to consider. The sort of men he wanted vere those who would be "reliable," who knew how to take a hint and who, if they had to have any morality, would have sense enough to keep it out of politics. A change in party management was therefore necessary in Dutchess. Mr. Williams was incontinently "dumped," and his sceptre was handed over to Hinckley. Hinckley's career has been somewhat picturesque. Some people call him "Major"-why, I have not been able to ascertain. Ope explanation given is that "he once went to West Point," which is probably the best explanation there is. He was a young man, at all events, when he first made his appearance in Dutchess County. He is remembered as having hung around a lowish kind of hotel, occasionally dispensing drinks across its bar. He presently secame attached to the hotel, and was soon a proprietor. From this time until he temporarily abandoned Poughkeepsie, he was eminent as a Why he went away was not put on ord, though a large and heavy burden of judgments was. A few years later he came back, apparently in the enjoyment of a reasonable degree of prosperity, and since that time his course has been, in its own peculiar way, "onward and upward." He became the proprietor of "The vice was that the whole business was illegal and New York Graphic," which some may remember

as a pictorial newspaper. It was as an editor that Mr. Hinckley began to receive consideration at the hands of the Demoeratic party. His paper, which, as a paper, was a huge and consistent failure, was nevertheless of great use in the erection of Mr. Hinckley's He passed its stock around in ample fortunes. bundles, and finally when it was well overlaid with debts he made some sort of deal by which it passed into the sweet by-and-by, and he into the presidency of an electrical machine company. But while occupied with these concerns in the metropolis, he was at no time idle in Poughkeepsie As the promoter of a mining company whose property consisted of sundry holes in mineral ground somewhere off toward the setting sun, he interested and still interests several of Dutchess County's sanguine citizens. Five or six years ago he adventured into local journalism, and now conducts "The Poughkeepsie News Press," wherein he wields a gnarled and knotty club agains Republicans generally, and all such Democrats as presume to think they have a will in conflict with that of David B. Hill and the Tammany Tiger. This is the man who, under Hill's direct tion, managed and forced through the Board of Dutchess County Canvassers the theft of the XVth

District. A LAWYER WITH A RECORD

His principal assistant was a man named William H. Wood, a lawyer. Poughkeepsie a year or two ago from Fishkill. He was once a supervisor of that town, since which time he has been successively deteated for a variety of offices. His character is bad. Early in the administration of Grover Cieveland Wood was a deputy collector of internal revenue for the district of which this county is a part. He was legislated out of that office by the onsolidation of the Poughkeepsie district with that immediately to the north of it. The two districts passed under the management of a single collector, whose office was in Albany. After Wood had been for some time out of office the collector discovered that he had failed to account for several hundred dollars, money which he had collected from taxpayers. His delinquencies were reported to the Commissioner at Washington, who declared them to be a clear case of embezzlement, remarking that their number was so considerable as to leave no room for any explanation consistent with an intention to account for the money. He insisted that Wood should be prosecuted, but he had "gone to Europe." couldn't be found, he couldn't be prosecuted, and in the end the amount of his defalcation was paid back and the matter was hushed up. It is said that Mr. Wood, like all the other rascals engaged in this electoral crite, is looking for his forty the shape of the office of State Assessor. I don't that they examined these seven bailots, that four of them bore Democratic pasters and three Rea machine for the ascertainment of results all the suppose there is any particular reason why, if the publican. way up from the lowest grade of offices to the Governor can appoint a man to be a member of the highest, and, of course, at no point in the perform- Court of Appeals who, in the furtherance of an infamous political conspiracy, is in evidence as having tampered with the mails, he should besitate about appointing a man to be a State Assessor partment at Washington. There are three letters. bearing the dates January 5, February 3 and April 20, all in 1888, and all written by a Democratic commissioner, which, in particular, he ought

same morning the official returns from the counties of Columbia and Putnam, which, with Dutchess, form the XVth Senate District, were filed and were reported to both political headquarters in Poughkeepsie. Columbia had given Mr. Deane, the Republican candidate, a majority of 132 and Putnam a majority of 38. Mr. Deane's majority in this result was announced it was promptly disputed by the Democrate, and among them by Frank B. Lown, a Democratic lawyer of character and ability. In a controversy that night Mr. Lows was assured that he har made a mistake in arithmetic. There was a certified copy of the Dutchess returns in the office of Robert H. Hunter, a Republican, and the Democratic disputants were invited to compare their figures with this certified statement. Mr. Wood and another went to Hunter's office and carefully made a comparison, presently discovering that in their statement the vote in one district had been transposed, giving Mr. Deane's figures to Mr. Osborne and Mr. Osborne's to Mr. Deane. They at once went to the clerk's office and examined the original statement, which contained the figures precisely as they appeared in Mr. Hunter's copy. This exactly accounted for the difference between their figures and those of the Republicans, and they at once conceded Mr. Deane's election. Mr. Lown, as became an honest man, sought to undo whatever harm he had done by his early claims. He went to a number of gentlemen and frankly informed them that he had been mistaken in his figures, and that there was no doubt that Deane had won. While thus engaged he encountered Hinckley, who sharply remonstrated with him for so foolish a proceeding. "Supposayou did make a mistake," said Hinckley, "what are you going around the streets saying so for at this stage of the game?" This remark was reported to the Republican leaders and naturally it made them thoughtful.

That night the Democrats—not the respectable ones, such as Mr. Williams, Mr. Hackett and Mr. Lown, but the Hinckley gang of regulars—were wildly protesting that Osborne was elected, and that it didn't make any difference what the figures said, he was elected and elected he was going to stay. This sort of talk went on, no one at any time verturing to suggest an excuse for it, until the Board of Supervisors met on the succeeding Tuesday to canvass the vote. The Board was composed of eighteen the district was, therefore, precisely 78. this result was announced it was promptly disputed by the Democrats, and among them by

banged the gavel and put things through with

a rush.

It scarcely needs to be said that none of these men was intelligently capable of conceiving or managing the conspiracy in which they were about to engage. It was born in the brain of Pavid B. Hill, and managed by James W. Hinckley, with frequent assistance from the tireless Maynard, who appeared from the Albany train at all critical moments armed with little sheets of typewritten manuscript.

VI. THE DIRTY PLOT DEVELOPS.

Ordinarily the vote of Dutchess County is canvassed in two days, but on this occasion a policy of delay and postponement was promptly inaugurated. As one by one the returns came up cores of clerical errors were pointed out, to which under ordinary circumstances no import-ance whatever would be attached, but on account of which in this instance the election inspectors were at once reconvened and the returns were sent back to them for correction. The purpose of this delay was, of course, to get "evidence upon which to attack the returns, though, as I have shown, that is precisely what the law and the courts have time and again declared that boards of canvassers cannot and must not do. Wood had been elected counsel for the board. It is only fair to the honorable Democratic lawyers of Poughkeepsie to say that not one of them could be induced to countenance the steal. One after another they declined to appear in the proceeding in the defence of the canvassers conduct, and their consistent and unanimous adoutrageous, sure to cover every one involved in it with infamy and equally sure to ruin the Democratic party. Wood, however, was always

The front of the conspiracy first showed itself

in connection with the returns from the first dis-

trict of the town of Dover. There seven paster ballots had been cast attached to official ballots,

but on the wrong side of them. The inspectors,

as these ballots were found, perceiving this irregularity, and not knowing how it affected the votes, laid them aside under a lamp until the canvass was completed and then decided to return them and did return them in their statement as blank." Hinckley, "nosing" around after "evidence," soon heard of these seven ballots. "Tom" Whalen, the ballot-clerk at this poll, told Hinckley that the unused ballots had not been returned to the County Clerk, as they should have been, but were sent to a barber shop near by where they were being used as waste paper, and he thought he could recover one of them and show him how these paster ballots looked. So they went together to the barber-shop, found an official ballot and on the back of that affixed a regular Democratic paster. On this some one present wrote, in a corner of the sheet, these words: "There were seven ballots, fac-simile to the one hereto attached, which is not an original ballot but a sample to show how the ballot was folded and how the paster was attached. These Wood came to ballots were accepted by the inspectors and at the canvass were counted as blank." Under this writing John Williams, a Democratic inspector, wrote his name. It will be noticed that the scamps did not have the inpudence to make Williams say in words that all these seven ballots were Democratio. They merely made him say that the Democratic paster there exhibited is a fac simile of the ballots cast, but the value of that statement was shown by his remarking that he didn't know what "fac simile" meant. Under Williams's statement, the other Democratic inspector, S. D. Whalen, wrote as follows: "I know of seven ballots, but do not know what kind."

The Republican irspector at this poll was Edward A. Brush. When the character of these ballots was being inquired into by the Board of Canvassers in thing which, be it always remem bered, they had no right to do anyhow) Brush presented an affidavit declaring that one of these seven ballots to his certain knowledge consists of a Social Labor official ballot with a Republican paster affixed. He noticed that another of the seven bore a Democratic paster ballot, but was Republican watchers at this poll were Henry ketcham and Richard Ketcham, cousins, one the son of General ketcham, the other the cashier of the Dover Plans Bank. They both testify

" FAST GALLOPING TO JAIL. It is probable that the inspectors made a mistake in failing to count these ballots, and it is dear that any candidate in interest was entitled to have their character determined by the courte in a quo warranto proceeding, and canvassed by the Court's order, and in accordance with its directions. Upon no excuse, however, could the canvassers lawfully investigate their character or in any way change the return of the inspectors except upon the order of the Court.